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PAGE 01 KIGALI 01221 01 OF 03 201546Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DS-00
	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FDRE-01	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
	IO-10	L-01	ADS-00	MFLO-03	M-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OCS-06	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00	PRS-01	P-01
	SCT-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-00
	USIE-00	FMP-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-10	DRL-09	G-00
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O 201550Z APR 95
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0511
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 001221

DEPT FOR AF/RA - AMB FRIEDMAN; ALSO AF/C

GENEVA FOR RMA; ROME PASS FODAG

E.O. 12356: DECL, OADR
TAGS: PREL, PREF, PGOV, EAID, RW, US
SUBJECT: RWANDA AT NINE MONTHS

1. THIS COUNTRY TEAM ASSESSMENT IS CLASSIFIED
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2. SUMMARY. ON APRIL 24, WE BEGIN THE 10TH MONTH OF OUR
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PAGE 02 KIGALI 01221 01 OF 03 201546Z
WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH RWANDA'S NEW GOVERNMENT OF

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NATIONAL UNITY. IT IS TIME TO LOOK AROUND AT THE LANDSCAPE AND GAZE A BIT TOWARD THE HORIZONS. WE FIND THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT DRAMATICALLY RESTORED, POLITICAL OPTIONS MORE CLEARLY DEFINED, THE STATE PENNILESS, THE ECONOMY STILL IN INFORMAL CHANNELS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT TO HELP RWANDA STILL HESITANT. THE NEAR HORIZONS WILL SEE ACCENTUATION OF CURRENT CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN RWANDAN POLITY AND SOCIETY AND A HEIGHTENED LEVEL OF INSURGENCY AND SECURITY CONTROLS. THE PROCESS OF TIME WILL BRING HOME MORE DISPLACED AND REFUGEES, RESTORE ASSOCIATIONAL LIFE ON THE HILLSIDES AND CREATE FISSURES IN THE WALLS OF OPPOSITION BETWEEN EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL RWANDANS. UNLESS WE STOP TALKING AND START DOING, INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT TO RWANDA WILL REMAIN INCHOATE AND INEFFECTUAL. END SUMMARY

3. THE LANDSCAPE. THE CHANGES IN RWANDA SINCE LAST JULY ARE EVIDENT EVERYWHERE. ELECTRICITY AND WATER WORKS FUNCTION IN ALL URBAN AREAS; TELEPHONES, PART OF THE TIME, CONNECT PROVINCIAL TOWNS TO THE CAPITAL. THE POST OFFICE IS WORKING AND SO ARE A PLETHORA OF E-MAIL SYSTEMS. CITIZENS HAVE A CHOICE OF RADIO STATIONS: GOVERNMENT, CATHOLIC OR UN; SWISS-SPONSORED RADIO GATASHA EXPECTS TO BROADCAST FROM RWANDA WITHIN THE MONTH. THERE ARE MORE NEWSPAPERS--OFFICIAL, SEMI-OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE--BEING IRREGULARLY PUBLISHED THAN AT ANY TIME IN RWANDA'S HISTORY. THIS WEEK, SECONDARY DAY AND BOARDING SCHOOLS OPENED AND THE UNIVERSITY HELD IT INAUGURAL LECTURE A FORTNIGHT AGO. GOVERNMENT HEALTH SERVICES ARE SLOWLY TAKING OVER FROM PVO-MANAGED HEALTH CARE.

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 KIGALI 01221 01 OF 03 201546Z

4. OUT IN THE COUNTRY, HILLSIDES AND TOWNS ARE GRADUALLY FILLING UP AS IDP'S AND REFUGEES TRAIL HOME. EXCEPT FOR SOME RECENT ARRIVALS FROM BURUNDI, THE WAVE OF '59 EXILES HAS CRESTED. RETURN RATES FOR '94 IDP'S AND REFUGEE'S DROPPED AS ARRESTS INCREASED BUT STILL THEY TRICKLE IN. SECURITY PROBLEMS ARISE WITH THIS RETURN. IRATE 59'ERS LOOT FOOD CONVOYS AND ATTACK UNAMIR STATIONS IN GISENYI, RETURNING REFUGEES SHIELD INSURGENT MILITIAS, AND CRIMINAL ACTIVITY INCREASES AMONG AN UNPAID MILITARY

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TIRED OF KEEPING THE PEACE. MEANWHILE THE EXISTENCE OF PROTECTED IDP CAMPS ON RWANDAN SOIL IS A CONTINUING IRRITANT TO RWANDAN SECURITY FORCES AND GOVERNMENT PRIDE BUT A WELCOME HAVEN TO THOSE WHO FIND THE THREAT OF ABUSE AND ARRESTS AT HOME UNCOMFORTABLY HIGH.

5. THE ECONOMY. NEW CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE RATES HAVE BROUGHT A SEMBLANCE OF CONTROL TO THE ECONOMY BUT IT REMAINS AN OFF-BOOK TRADERS' MARKET FEATURING FORMER EXPATRIATES AND RETURNED EXILES OFTEN USING THE PREMISES OF CURRENT REFUGEES. THE GOVERNMENT ITSELF IS WITHOUT FUNDS OR SOURCE OF REVENUE. NO LIQUIDITY UNDERGIRDS THE ECONOMY EXCEPT CONTINUING DOLLAR PURCHASES IN THE LOCAL MARKET BY NGO'S, UN AND FOREIGN MISSIONS. IN SPITE OF HAVING ARREARAGES PAID SINCE DECEMBER, THE WORLD BANK HAS YET TO LEND A PENNY TO THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT. WITH MANDARIN HAUTEUR, THE BANK HAS BLAMED (CORRECTLY, IN PART...IS THE BANK EVER WRONG?) RWANDA FOR HOLDING UP THE PROCESS AND THEN DISPATCHED ITS RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE ON EXTENDED LEAVE WITHOUT RESOLVING THE IMPASSE. THE LENDER TO THE WORLD MAY WELL BE BACK ON THE STREET

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 KIGALI 01221 01 OF 03 201546Z
BEGGING FOR ANOTHER BAILOUT OF ARREARAGES BEFORE IT MOVES ANY MONEY FORWARD IN RWANDA.

6. DONORS DALLY. THE BANK'S HESITANCY BUT MIRRORS THE SLOW PACE OF DONOR INVESTMENT IN REBUILDING RWANDA. ONLY A TINY FRACTION OF FUNDS PLEDGED IN GENEVA HAVE BEEN OBLIGATED. IT SEEMS WE HAVE MOVED, AS ONE PLANWING PAPER RECENTLY MISPELLED IT, FROM "URGENCY TO DEVELOPMENT." COORDINATION MECHANISMS ARE FUNCTIONING PROPERLY BUT THEY REHASH IN DETAIL DONOR INTENTIONS RATHER THAN DONOR ACHIEVEMENTS. AS DONORS GIVE PRIORITY TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE, THE VISION OF GENOCIDE WHICH IMPELS RAPID ADDRESS TO JUSTICE SEEMS TO BE RECEDING. WHILE DONORS DALLY AND THE WORLD'S MEDIA FOCUS ON PRISONS RATHER THAN GENOCIDE, THE VICTIMS OF GENOCIDE STRIDENTLY RECALL IT AND BLAME THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FOR LETTING IT HAPPEN.

7. THE RESULT IS A GAP IN CONFIDENCE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT

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AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS TO THE REAL INTENTIONS OF EACH. THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT YET HAVE THE MEANS TO MAKE GOOD ON ITS OBJECTIVES; THE DONORS WONDER IF THE GOVERNMENT IS SINCERE AND ARE POISED (PARTICULARLY THE WORLD BANK AND EUROPEAN UNION) TO BAIL OUT BEFORE GIVING THE GOVERNMENT A CHANCE. WITHIN THE BI-LATERAL DONOR

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL PTQ7023

PAGE 01 KIGALI 01221 02 OF 03 201546Z
ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DS-00
	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FDRE-01	H-01	IMMC-01	TEDE-00	INR-00
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FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0512
INFO RWANDA COLLECTIVE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 001221

DEPT FOR AF/RA - AMB FRIEDMAN; ALSO AF/C

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GENEVA FOR RMA; ROME PASS FODAG

E.O. 12356: DECL, OADR

TAGS: PREL, PREF, PGOV, EAID, RW, US

SUBJECT: RWANDA AT NINE MONTHS

COMMUNITY, THE GROWING CAUTION OF THE FRENCH AND BELGIANS CONTRASTS WITH THE ENTHUSIASM OF THE DUTCH, BRITISH AND AMERICANS FOR PRESSING RAPIDLY AHEAD. THE GERMANS ARE PESSIMISTIC BUT HAVE COMMITTED TO A SIGNIFICANT PROGRAM

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PAGE 02 KIGALI 01221 02 OF 03 201546Z
IN RECENT MIXED COMMISSION MEETINGS. AS A COUNTER TO PERCEIVED INTERNATIONAL INACTION ON WHAT MATTERS MOST-- DEALING WITH GENOCIDE--KIGALI'S MOSTLY TUTSI POPULATION DEMONSTRATED LAST WEEK AGAINST THE FRENCH, THE BELGIANS AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S MOST OBVIOUS EMANATION--UNAMIR.

8. THE GOVERNMENT. CENTRAL INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT, EXCEPT FOR THE JUDICIARY, ARE BEGINNING TO FUNCTION AND TO EXTEND THEIR PURCHASE TO THE PROVINCES. BUT WITH THIS GROWTH COMES INCREASED COMPETITION WITHIN GOVERNMENT FOR RESOURCES, POLICY CONTROL AND ADMINISTRATIVE JURISDICTION. THE COMPETITION IS UNFORTUNATELY TAKING ON A ETHNIC TONE WITH THE LIBERAL PARTY TUTSIS MORE HOSTILE TO HUTU CLAIMS THAN THE MOST RADICAL OF RPF. SIMILARLY RPF HUTU STALWARTS LIKE ITS TITULAR CHAIRMAN KANYARENGWE OR MINISTER OF INTERIOR SENDASHONGA OR DEPUTY COL. LIZINDE IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC DISCOURSE SEEM CLOSER TO PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU THAN THEY DO TO THE RPF LINE. ONCE AGAIN REACTION TO GENOCIDE IS THE DRIVING FORCE WHICH SEPARATES PEOPLE AND HARDENS ATTITUDES. PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU'S DECEMBER PLEA THAT, WHILE HONORING THE DEAD AND SEEKING JUSTICE, RWANDANS SHOULD PUT THE PAST BEHIND THEM AND GET ON WITH THE BUSINESS OF PROVIDING SECURITY TO ALL CITIZENS AND REBUILDING NATIONAL UNITY BROUGHT DOWN ON HIM THE ANGER OF ALL TUTSI ELITE AND THE TREAT OF EXPULSION FROM GOVERNMENT.

9. THE GROWING DIVIDE IN GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE CHARACTERIZED, NOT AS BETWEEN RADICAL AND MODERATE

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ELEMENTS, BUT AS BETWEEN TWO DIFFERENT CONCEPTIONS OF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 01221 02 OF 03 201546Z
RWANDA'S FUTURE. THE ONE, IMPELLED BY THE DETERMINATION
NEVER AGAIN TO HAZARD TUTSIS BEING THREATENED BY
GENOCIDE, REQUIRES CONTINUING RPF DOMINANCE OF MILITARY
AND POLITICAL FORCES AND THE ECONOMIC APPARATUS WHICH IN
AFRICA ATTACHES TO POWER. THE OTHER, ANSWERING TO THE
LOGIC OF POWER SHARING AND DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, POSITS
A FUTURE IN WHICH OPPOSITION PARTIES WILL HAVE THE
DOMINANCE THEIR NUMERICAL BASE WARRANTS BUT WILL
GUARANTEE THE RIGHTS OF ALL IN A RULE OF LAW. PUBLIC
CALLS FOR JUSTICE AND NON-DISCRIMINATION, OR
ALTERNATIVELY, FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION AND DEMOCRACY
ARE SHORTHAND EXPRESSIONS OF THOSE POLITICAL VISIONS. A
PROPONENT OF ONE VIEW (PRIME MINISTER TWAGIRAMUNGU, FOR
EXAMPLE) IS CONSIDERED AN EXTREMIST BY A PROPONENT OF THE
OTHER (MINISTER OF REHABILITATION BIHOZAGARA, FOR
INSTANCE). THE STRUGGLE FOR THE POLITICAL SOUL AND
DETERMINANT FUTURE OF RWANDA HAS NEARLY PARALYZED A
GOVERNMENT THAT IS SUPPOSED TO FUNCTION BY CONSENSUS.

10. OUR PLACE IN THE SUN. GIVEN OUR BASIC VALUES,
REFLECTED IN OUR COMMITMENT TO THE ARUSHA PROCESS, US
ASPIRATIONS FOR RWANDA LOOK TOWARD A POWER-SHARING,
DEMOCRATIC FUTURE. BUT OUR DETERMINATION TO DEAL WITH
GENOCIDE AND BRING PERPETRATORS TO JUSTICE MEANS, FOR THE
NEAR TERM, ACCEPTING DOMINANCE IN RWANDA BY A VICTIMIZED
MINORITY WHO WON THE WAR AND NOW PROVIDE THE SECURITY
BASE FOR ALL OUR EFFORTS. WE OBVIOUSLY HOPE THAT SUCH
DOMINANCE WILL BE PROGRESSIVELY ENCOMPASSED WITHIN A RULE
OF LAW. SO FAR THE RWANDAN GOVERNMENT'S PUBLIC DISCOURSE
GIVES REASON TO TRUST IN ITS ULTIMATE AIMS AND
OBJECTIVES.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 04

KIGALI 01221 02 OF 03 201546Z

11. THE UNITED STATES HAS CHOSEN TO LEAD THE EXTERNAL EFFORT TO ASSIST THIS GOVERNMENT, INCREASINGLY DIVIDED, BUT STILL PUBLICLY COMMITTED TO GOALS WE VALUE. WE MADE AN EARLY AND DRAMATIC RESPONSE TO RWANDA'S HUMANITARIAN CRISIS AND FOLLOWED WITH A COMMITMENT TO REHABILITATE GOVERNMENT AND HELP IT CREATE CONDITIONS FOR NATIONAL RECONCILIATION, FOR RETURN OF REFUGEE AND FOR EVENTUAL CLOSING OF HOSTILE CAMPS ON ITS BORDERS.

12. TO THIS END, WE GALVANIZED THE DONOR EFFORT THROUGH THE OPERATIONAL SUPPORT GROUP AND MORE RECENTLY THROUGH LEADERSHIP OF BI-LATERAL DONORS IN THE FIELD. OUR COMMITMENT TO DEALING WITH GENOCIDE HAS BEEN CLEAR SINCE THE SPECIAL SESSION ON RWANDA LAST MAY. IN SPITE OF THE SIX MONTHS IT TOOK TO GET OUR EQUIPMENT ON THE GROUND, OUR RESPONSE TO REHABILITATION OF KEY MINISTRIES HAS PUT US IN THE FOREFRONT OF ASSISTANCE IMPLEMENTORS. WE NOW HAVE FIELDDED QUALITY TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE THAT IS INTERACTING WITH GOVERNMENT AND HELPING IT GRAPPLE WITH CRITICAL ISSUES IN A POSITIVE AND PERHAPS UNIQUELY AMERICAN WAY. THIS WEEK WE PRESENT TO THE GOVERNMENT AN AGREEMENT THAT WILL RELEASE ANOTHER \$ 4 MILLION FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

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CONFIDENTIAL

PTQ7024

UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 01
ACTION AF-01

KIGALI 01221 03 OF 03 201546Z

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CA-02	CIAE-00	OASY-00	DODE-00	DS-00
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-----BD990A 201546Z /38

O 201550Z APR 95
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 001221

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13. HORIZONS. OVER THE NEXT SIX MONTHS WE SHOULD SEE AN
INCREASING CAPACITY OF GOVERNMENT TO CARRY OUT ITS
RESPONSIBILITIES (FROM SECURITY TO LAND ALLOCATION TO
HEALTH CARE) ACROSS THE COUNTRY. THE IDP CAMPS WILL
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 KIGALI 01221 03 OF 03 201546Z
DISAPPEAR BY VOLUNTARY DEPARTURE OR BY FORCE. THIS WILL
RESULT IN SOME EMIGRATION OF REFUGEES BUT MOST WILL GO
THEIR HILLSIDES AND TOWNS. REFUGEES WILL CONTINUE TO
TREK BACK HOME WHERE ARRESTS WILL CONTINUE, BUT, GIVEN
THE CURRENT OUTCRY ABOUT PRISON CONDITIONS, AT A LOWER
RATE. EXPATRIATE JUSTICES WILL HELP NEWLY-APPOINTED
RWANDA JUDGES (BOTH FORMER JURISTS AND EXILES) BEGIN TO
PROCESS FORMAL CHARGES AGAINST THOSE IN PRISON AND TRY
SOME OF THEM. THE INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL WILL BEGIN ITS

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INVESTIGATIONS AND FIND THAT ITS SLOWNESS AND WRANGLING WITH THE UN HIGH COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS HAVE WASTED CRITICAL TIME AND VITAL EVIDENCE. ALONG RWANDA'S BORDERS AND SOMETIMES IN THE INTERIOR, HUTU MILITIA EMBOLDENED BY NEW ARMS WILL SNEAK IN AND WRECK HAVOC. IN RETURN RWANDAN MILITARY WILL PERIODICALLY TIGHTEN SECURITY MEASURES.

14. BUT THE MORE PEOPLE COME HOME, THE MORE GOVERNMENT EXTENDS ITS REACH, THE MORE RWANDANS DISCUSS THE CLEAVAGES WROUGHT BY THEIR CIVIL WAR, THE MORE THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN RWANDAN SOCIETY WILL GROW. THE PRO-DEMOCRACY SIDE OF GOVERNMENT, FINDING THEIR MARRIAGE OF CONVENIENCE WITH RPF SEVERED WILL SEEK OUT CONTACTS WITH EXTERNAL ALLIES WHILE TRYING TO AVOID CHARGES OF SUBVERSION. SEEING THE DISENCHANTMENT AMONGST THEIR ERSTWHILE ALLIES, RPF WILL SEEK TO INCREASE ITS OWN REACH IN GOVERNMENT ORGANS, ESPECIALLY THE JUDICIARY AND FINANCIAL MINISTRIES AS WELL AS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE THROUGH APPOINTED BURGOMASTERS AND DEPUTY-PREFETS. MEANWHILE THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER WITHIN THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WILL ALLOW GROWING SPACE FOR ASSOCIATIONAL

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 KIGALI 01221 03 OF 03 201546Z
ACTIVITY AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT. THERE WILL BE SUCCESSES WHERE AGENTS OF LOCAL POLITICS WORK WITH AGENTS OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT FOR THE COMMUNITY GOOD. THERE WILL BE FAILURES WHERE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE TWO LEAD TO ABUSE OF POWER OR WHERE ONE OR THE OTHER PREYS ON LOCAL POPULACE. INCREASINGLY THE FULCRUM FOR CHANGE (GOOD OR BAD) WILL BE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE.

15. GIVEN THESE HORIZONS, MODESTY IS THE FIRST REQUISITE TO SUCCESS IN OUR FUTURE ENDEAVORS; THE SOLUTION TO RWANDAN PROBLEMS REMAINS IN RWANDAN HANDS. CERTAINLY WE NEED TO INCREASE PRACTICAL ASSISTANCE SO THAT VITAL MINISTRIES, ESPECIALLY JUSTICE, HAVE THE MATERIAL NECESSITIES TO CARRY OUT THEIR WORK. OUR EXPERTS NOW IN THE FIELD ARE DEVISING JUST SUCH PRAGMATIC INTERVENTIONS. WE MUST PUSH THE TRIBUNAL TO ACCELERATE ITS GLACIAL PACE AND INDICT SOMEONE; NO PERPETRATOR AT THIS POINT IS EVEN THREATENED WITH JUSTICE MUST LESS BROUGHT TO BAR. THAT

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BEING DONE, WE SHOULD HELP NURTURE LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND CIVIL SOCIETY AS IT SPROUTS AND BLOSSOMS IN RWANDA'S THOUSAND HILLS. NOR CAN WE IGNORE TWO VITAL AREAS WHERE RWANDA HAS LESSONS FOR THE WORLD: POPULATION AND ENVIRONMENT. KEY ORGANIZATIONS FOR GETTING ABOVE THE DESTRUCTIVE POLITICS OF RWANDA'S PAST WILL BE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATIONS, LOCAL CIVIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS AND PROFESSIONAL GROUPS, AS LONG AS THEY ARE INTEGRATED. TRAINING, SOMETHING WE DO BEST, MUST BE AN ESSENTIAL COMPONENT OF THAT PROCESS.

16. AS WE LAUNCH THESE BILATERAL PROGRAMS, WE NEED TO BE IN CLOSE CONVERSATION WITH GOVERNMENT AND THE UNITED
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 KIGALI 01221 03 OF 03 201546Z
NATIONS DEFINING THE ARENA OF THE POSSIBLE FOR AN INTERNATIONAL PRESENCE THAT IS STILL SOLICITED BY MANY IN GOVERNMENT AND CERTAINLY NEEDED AS GUARDIAN OF THE INNOCENT AND GUARANTOR OF JUSTICE WITHIN A DIVIDED SOCIETY. IF UNAMIR CAN HELP KEEP THIS COUNTRY CALM, TIME IS ON THE SIDE OF ANGELS. THE PEOPLE WILL BEGIN TO WORK OUT A WAY, IF NOT OF RECONCILIATION, AT LEAST OF LIVING WITH EACH OTHER. IF THE VIOLENCE OF OCCASIONAL INSURGENCIES INCREASES TO OPEN CONFLICT, OUR BEST EFFORTS ILL NOT MOVE THE NATION FORWARD. WE AND OTHER DONORS CANNOT, HOWEVER, CLAIM BEST EFFORT UNLESS WE BEGIN TO JOINTLY TO MEET SPECIFIC NEEDS IN A STRATEGIC WAY THAT GIVES RWANDANS A GENUINE CHANCE TO DEAL WITH THEIR OWN PROBLEMS. RAWSON

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